

Rise & Progress of Revolution:

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TO THE

GRAND JURIES

OF THE

COUNTY COURTS OF THE FIFTH CIRCUIT

OF THE

State of Pennsylvania,

At December Session, 1800.

BY ALEXANDER ADDISON,
President of those Courts.

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IT is impossible to open our eyes upon the world, without remarking order and gradation irresistibly and indelibly stamp'd, by the Great Creator, on all his works. This pervades inanimate as well as animal nature, and prevails not only in the earth, but in the heavens; and we are taught it not only by our senses and reason, but by Revelation. From the grain of sand, to the rock; from the particle of earth, to the diamond; from the mole hill, to the mountain; from vegetable life, through all its degrees, to animal life; from the torpid shell-fish, to the half reasoning elephant; from the ideot or the savage, to the sage and the philosopher; from man, in his utmost perfection, to the angel; and through angels, in all their ranks, to the Infinite, Almighty, and Incomprehensible Source of all Being; we see order rising above order, degree above degree, power above power, and, of beings of the same species, different grades of worth and eminence. This is the work of God; and every attempt, to disturb this order of subordination, is an attempt against the will and power of the Almighty.

Yet this impious attempt, to disturb that order established by God himself, the pride of Reason has been constantly making. It was begun before the world was made, and has been persisted in, with unweary industry, in all ages and countries. It has been shewn in reasoning down all authority, rejecting the influence of all opinion, and resisting all power. And its source is Pride, inspiring discontent with the condition allotted by the Author of nature, and desire of exaltation above the prescribed measure. The first effort of this destroying passion was against the throne of God. Lucifer, son of the morning, conspired to dethrone God; and drew down, on his and his deluded followers' guilty heads, everlasting destruction from the presence of their Almighty Lord. Man in Paradise, inspired, by Pride, with discontent, slighting the happy state assigned by his Maker, from a fatal ambition of light, knowledge, and power, and a vain desire to exalt his nature above its degree, brought sin, misery, and death, on him and his posterity.

" Aspiring to be Gods, If Angels fell ;
" Aspiring to be Angels, Men rebel."

The pride of the Jews, to govern themselves, made them reject the government of God; and discontent with his dispensations, made them rebel

against his providence ; and these distracting passions brought on them calamity and ruin.

The slightest observation will shew us, that God hath set bounds to human Liberty, and rendered Equality impossible. Yet, in spite of all experience, a pursuit of these vain phantoms has been incessantly repeated ; and, like the *Ignis fatuus*, they have constantly led their followers into the bogs and fens of anarchy, confusion, and misery. They spring from Pride, and end in Destruction. They declare war against all authority, resist all power, and oppose all influence ; and, as with the fabled Giants, Heaven itself is not too sacred for their attacks.

Let then a people, who, like us, enjoy a Government of rational liberty, strive rather to prevent its abuse into licentiousness, than, by aspiring at more, neglecting all experience, and contemning all authority, destroy the blessings of true liberty, and plunge ourselves into confusion, anarchy, and despotism. Ours is not like the state of nations in Europe ; where, to arrive at our state such sad scenes have been acted, as will long blacken the picture of human calamity. A people once roused from submission to authority, and loosed from the restraints of law, and the influence of opinion, was never yet known, without the compulsion of

external force, or the sad experience of internal calamity, to stop at the happy mean between liberty and slavery. And, in the struggle, what dreadful havoc has been made of all the charities of social life; till man has seemed more cruel, than the beast of prey, and more barbarous than the savage of the wilderness! By such a struggle, the people of the United States have no addition of liberty to gain, but much of liberty and happiness to lose. It becomes us therefore justly to value, and wisely to improve the Government which we enjoy; and, casting an eye over the conduct of other nations, to learn wisdom by the experience of their errors, without a participation of their sufferings.

The Revolutions now operating in Europe sprung not from the impulse of a day, nor a sudden concurrence of random passions and circumstances. Their foundations were long laid deep and wide in an extensive and systematic operation on public opinion, by a combination of vast art, industry, and influence. The full extent of the force of this combination was not at first seen. It was developed only by degrees; and success in one step opened the view, led the way, and spurred the diligence to another; till it required a gigantic force, that, it would seem, only the hand of Heaven can arrest.

But let us not hastily suppose, because human power has not yet been able to stop it's progress, that the cause of Revolution is the cause of God ; or that he favours it's progress or success. The ways of God are wonderful ; and with nations, as with individuals, when wickedness is to be punished, he permits passions to rage and prevail ; employs one wicked nation, to scourge, not only itself, but other nations ; till he has worked his own ends ; when he quiets the storm, and restores such order as accords with the views of his providence. It is not, therefore, from success, but from ends and means, that we are to determine whether a cause be favoured by God. Success alone, without relation to ends and means, may be a mark only of his vengeance, and fiery indignation.

The end, which the promoters of these Revolutions had in view, was the destruction of all authority human and divine, of all authority founded on faith, and all authority founded on reason and experience ; the destruction of all Revelation, of all Government, of all established Opinion, and of all the bonds of human Society. This they were to accomplish in the specious way of reforming corruptions, removing prejudices, and restraining oppression. Their Equality was, that man should be equal to God, and any man equal to

every other. Their Liberty was that every man should be free from all law, and be a law to himself.

The means, by which these ends were to be effected, have been detailed by several writers; and their combination, from it's secrecy, system, and art, has been justly called a Conspiracy. I have seen them best unfolded and digested in Barruel's "Memoirs for illustrating the History of Jacobinism;" a book which deserves the perusal of every serious enquirer. If the horrid nature of the plots there disclosed should shock credibility, the narrative is so supported, as, at least, to make a deep impression, that such things may have been, if it do not make it impossible to withhold belief, that such things really were. He divides the conspiracy into three parts; 1, The Antichristian Conspiracy, whose object was, to destroy the Christian Religion; 2, The Antimonarchical Conspiracy, to destroy all Kingly Government; and 3, The Anti-social Conspiracy, to destroy, not only all principles of Religion and Government, but all principles of Civil Society, and bring men back to the savage state of Nature.

Let no man, who has not read this book, reject belief of these plots, as incredible, because they are horrid. The extravagance of the Reforming and Revolutionizing principle, when excited,

exerted, and indulged, knows no bounds. Look at the history of the Religious sects, which sprung from the Reformation in Germany, and then say, whether any thing be too absurd or shocking to be true!

i. The object of the first Conspiracy was the destruction of the Christian Religion.

Though it be as clear as demonstration could make it, that Man cannot be restrained within rational and moral bounds, without Religion; yet Religion, in all ages and nations, has had it's enemies and opponents. Ever since the Revelation of the Gospel, the Christian Religion has had its enemies and opponents. But they acted separately, without union; and it was reserved for the Philosophers of France, in the present century, to form a combination, for the avowed purpose of systematically tearing up by the roots the whole plan of the Gospel, and abolishing the whole doctrine and worship, and the very name of Christ; to divide among themselves the several parts of their Conspiracy, and pursue its accomplishment with persevering and exulting co-operation. It was not the Catholic Church; nor the Protestant Church, but the Christian Church, the Religion and name of Christ, against which their united efforts were levelled, and these efforts were pursued as the main business of their lives.

Deism is but a resting place on the way to Atheism, and those Philosophers made the whole progress of the journey. Having successfully propagated the abolition of the belief in Christ, they next proceeded to abolish the belief in God, Heaven and Hell ; and to set men free from all rest. ~~rest~~ of God, from all authority of Faith, from all hopes and fears of a life to come. Thus were men freed from authority, enlightened from ignorance, reformed from prejudice, restored to Reason ; and established in a Liberty of each forming an opinion and faith for himself, and an Equality which put the dictates of Man on a footing with the Revelation of God, and the opinion of each man on a level with that of every other.

Corruptions will creep into every Church, and these will be the first objects of attack by all Enlighteners and Reformers. In reforming these, they may reckon on the support of sensible and honest men. In all matters of Faith, there must be some, which human reason cannot explain : for who, by searching, can find out God ! In attacking these, they may reckon on the support of human pride and vain philosophy : for man will be wise above that which is written, and will oppose what he cannot comprehend. In the commencement of their attack on Religion, they were thus sure of a party ; and, a party once gained, it was easy to inflame their passions, and lead them to any

extent beyond their first views of Reformation. If they met with opposition, their zeal would rise in proportion, and reason and utility be lost in the conflict. Such is the pride of man, and so delusive his boasted reason ; when it casts off the lessons of experience, the influence of opinion, and the authority of Faith !

To these enlightening and reforming projects, the opposition of the Clergy of the established Church was to be expected ; and, to destroy that opposition, the character, influence, and establishment of the Clergy must be attacked. Their vices and their follies (for what order of men is without them !) were exposed and exaggerated ; and all the power of reasoning and ridicule was exhausted, to render them odious and contemptible. All their personal virtues, and all the benefits of their establishment were cautiously concealed from view, and buried in silence ; and they were represented as deceivers and oppressors of the people.

Besides the secular clergy, the Christian Church in France had powerful supporters, in the Religious orders, which had long been established there. These also must be overthrown, to make way for the new Philosophy. To overthrow any establishment, unsupported by force, licentious censure and ridicule will alone suffice, and of these the Philos-

ophers had ample store, which they lavishly expended on all Religious Societies.

But there was one, which, above all others, the Conspirators hated and dreaded ; the Society of the Jesuits. The members of this society were the guides of education in France. It was vain, to corrupt the opinions of the existing generation, if the rising generation was to be educated in the doctrines of Faith, and in hostility to the new philosophy. Philosophy could never prevail, if Religion were left, like the Hydra, ever shooting up new heads. Voltaire and his infidel associates, with all their light and reformation, must fall ; or the society of Jesuits must be destroyed. Against this Society, the masters of education in France, was the force of the philosophers directed. They succeeded ; the Society was abolished ; and the instruction of youth was surrendered to the Philosophers.

They then laboured, with mischievous success, to surround princes, ministers, and great men, with Confessors of the new philosophy ; to fill places of trust and power with converts to the new philosophy ; to fill the chairs of the Colleges with Professors of the new philosophy ; to put all town and country schools under the direction of the new philosophy ; to fill the country with books and pamphlets of the new philosophy ; and to have les-

sons and pamphlets of the new philosophy recited in schools, and places of resort ; till philosophy filled the kingdom, and Religion vanished.

In this struggle between Philosophy and Religion, both Prince and People were deluded into a fatal neutrality, or a blind or treacherous co-operation with the enemies of both. Priestcraft (as they called Religion) was represented as hostile to the sovereignty and power of the prince, and to the liberty and equality of the people : and both united to destroy the true guardians of each, and saw their error only when it was too late ; like the sheep, after the surrender of their dogs, when the wolves tore them in pieces.

2. Having thus prostrated the altars, the philosophers turned to the throne, and with fresh courage and zeal, and increased force, engaged in the Anti-monarchical Conspiracy, to destroy all kings. To have begun their attack here would have been unsafe, because they might have been instantly crushed by the force of Government. And, if there had been no force immediately at the command of Government, to have begun this attack, till first they had destroyed Religion in the minds of the people, would have been unsafe, because subjection to the higher powers is an ordinance of God. But, when they had succeeded in corrupting the minds of the

people, and persuading them, that there was no power above man ; it was easy to persuade them, that all men are equal, and free to think and do as they please. Destruction of human authority is an easy thing, after all divine authority is destroyed.

Still, however, as there was a force immediately at the command of Government, it behoved the Conspirators to proceed with caution and secrecy. It was easier to sap, than to storm, the throne. And the engines they used were the press and secret societies. Books and pamphlets were secretly printed, and dispersed gratis through the kingdom, discussing the metaphysical doctrines of Liberty and Equality, without direct application to the existing Government. The respective merits of a Republican and of a Monarchical government were discussed, as an abstract question, without relation to France ; and a decisive preference was given to the former. The power of Reason and Morality was considered as sufficient to control man in an enlightened state ; and all force and authority was considered as useless. They were worse than useless : they were dangerous and tyrannical violations of natural right. All authority was inconsistent with the natural right of Equality ; and every social compact was inconsistent with the natural right of Liberty : and these rights were considered as unalienable. To give influence

to such opinions, ancient errors and perversions of Religion were called in. As they had established, that there was no God ; the whole of Nature was received as their God, and every man was a part of this. Thus it became impious to suppose, that any man, a part of the divinity, should be held in subjection in this life, or punished in any future state : and all law and magistracy was represented as a contrivance of the Evil Principle.

It is not to be supposed, that all these doctrines were taught by all the Reformers. Each would take his part. Some would go farther than others. Some would be restrained by their understanding, and others by their prudence. And all would see the necessity of working in secret, till their doctrines had made a sufficient impression, and they had secured a party of strength beyond fear.

They combined therefore in secret societies ; secretly formed, digested, and matured their plot ; and dispersed their opinions over the kingdom.

The Mason Lodges established throughout France afforded the Philosophers a complete and extensive organization of secrecy. The Reformers intruded themselves into the Lodges, to inculcate their congenial doctrines of Liberty and Equality.

The tie of Brotherhood was henceforth to influence men instead of the obligations of Religion and Government ; and the world was to become one Mason lodge. The poison now infected the whole country ; and all that was wanting, to complete the scheme, was to corrupt the court and the army.

Courtiers and Ministers were seduced by this fashionable philosophy. " Professing themselves "to be wise, they became fools." Secret societies and lodges in the army initiated the officers and soldiers. And the Monarchy, thus deprived of it's force, and of the support of Religion, was led a bound victim to destruction, and fell as without a blow.

Hitherto Religion had been but hated, despised and humbled : but, to the fall of the throne, succeeded the destruction of the altar. The Churches were converted into temples of Reason ; and Reason, not God, became the object of worship. Solemn and public profession was made, that Christ was an Impostor ; that there was neither God nor Soul ; and that death put an eternal end to Man. And the Reformers, having now nothing to fear, either from Government or Religion, laid their savage hands on the people, and violated, plundered, and murdered them, without mercy or decency.

3. It will have been observed, that the principles, which led to the destruction of the French Monarchy, lead equally to the destruction of all Government of every description. It is not probable, however, that all the Reformers intended this, or that they had all the same views on this point. Some may have intended only the ruin of Religion, under the denomination of Priests and Priestcraft. Others wished to go farther, and destroy all Monarchy and Kings, under the denomination of Tyranny and Tyrants. And here, perhaps, the more moderate of the Reformers would have stopt, and been satisfied with the establishment of a Republic, if each could hope to succeed in procuring the adoption of his own plan of Government. But the Philosophers had employed the Jacobins, as the executioners of their vengeance on the Altar and the Throne; and these agents soon became their Masters, silenced or murdered the Philosophers, and proceeded, in their own way, to reform the Government. How little do men see, who promote insurrection or revolution, and hope to lead it, that they must soon sink under it's force, and be among the first victims of the fury which they excite! However honest may be the views of it's promoters; in the progress of insurrection or revolution, ignorant, violent, and wicked men will soon take the lead, and conduct an enraged people to any extremity.

The Jacobin Society in Paris soon bore down every authority, and, in fact, governed the whole nation. It guided the Parisian populace, overawed the National Assembly, and, by means of it's affiliated societies throughout the kingdom, led public opinion, and directed all measures every where as it pleased ; and nothing could resist it's force.

The views of this abominable sect were displayed in every part of France, by a disregard of all morality and justice, of the rights of marriage and property, of commerce and manufactures, of every thing which holds society together, or renders life valuable or safe. And, in pursuance of those views ; outrage, violation, murder, pillage, burning, and devastation, were every where perpetrated with indiscriminating fury ; till all social order and happiness seemed to be destroyed, and France verged fast to barbarism.

This was the third part, or the An:isocial Conspiracy, to destroy the principles, which adorn, support, and connect civil society, and to bring men back to the savage state of Nature. Such was the object of the Illuminees or Illuminati, members of the sect of Illuminism or Illuminatism. It's author a German Professor, of the name of Weishaupt, at Ingolstadt in Bavaria ; who founded and extended the sect, with profound art and

secrecy, and with the daring ambition of governing the whole world. This was his end; and his means were secret societies, or corrupting public opinion by means of the press and secret societies. Having associated to himself some confidential men, they employed fit persons to gain converts to his opinions, under the specious pretence of Instructing and enlightening them, and under the solemn impression of secrecy and adjuration. When members were enlisted and initiated, after some trial of their fidelity and fitness, they were raised to a higher, and a higher order, in proportion to their capacity and disposition to advance the interests of the sect; every order opening new discoveries of the mysteries of the society, and new instructions in their doctrine; and every order guarded with additional sanctions of secrecy, mystery, and respect. The members of a lower class knew not the members of any higher class, nor the members of other societies of the same class. The Superior or President of every class corresponded with the order next above that. Their societies, spread every where, were distributed into divisions, districts, and provinces. They had fictitious names for distinguishing persons and places. All correspondence in the lower classes was directed to the officer superintending the smallest division, by him to the officer superintending the division or district next more extensive, and so on till it came to Weishaupt.

and his Directory. Thus the different classes were ignorant of the persons and numbers of the society, but were strongly impressed with the strength, magnitude, and extent of it. The Council which directed it was unknown; but it was understood, that it had but one direction, and moved with uniform and irresistible force. Every class observed the opinions taught in it to be inculcated, at the same time, in every part of the civilized world; and every important event was represented, and appeared, to be the work of the society. Thus it's power appeared omnipotent; all it's members were absolutely under it's control; and it's dominion over their minds was above any other dominion of God or man. Every member of it was prepared to promote it's success, as the first duty, and to obey *all* commands of the society. Instant vengeance was known to be the consequence of any disobedience or treachery. And every member was prepared for treason, perjury, murder, or any crime, that would promote the interests of the society, or the injunctions of his Superior. In this manner did Weishaupt pursue universal dominion.

The first instructions to the converts were of a general nature; as the miseries of oppression, the corruptions of government, the delusions of superstition, and the evils of society. As they improved

in disposition, and rose to higher and higher degrees, new instructions and mysteries were opened to them; and still they were spurred on by curiosity of greater mysteries and more light to be yet displayed. The evils arising from property, the inequality in it's division, and the cruelty of all restraint on human will and conduct, were gradually explained to them. Then was described the happy golden age, when all things were common, and men lived without labour, content with the natural fruits of the earth, and had no wants, because each being satisfied with little, there was enough to supply all. In this happy time, there was no need for government, punishment, or restraint; for, there being neither property nor want, all had equal right, and equal abundance. There was no temptation to crimes, and the mild influence of paternal instruction was sufficient control. To Society and Government, therefore, were all the evils of life to be ascribed; and from this or that man calling this house, this field, this woman, his, arise all the temptation to evil. Abolish the right of property; and there will be no temptation to do evil. Diminish wants; and you have no need for property. Destroy property; and you have no need for laws. Be content with the bounties of Nature; and you have no need for agriculture, manufactures, commerce, art, learning, or society. All men will then be free and equal, and may live,

like the savage, on milk, honey, and acorns. Thus Society and Government may be dispensed with; Morality will be Law; Reason will be Religion; and Liberty and Equality will give happiness. This was the last secret of Illuminism; and, to give it all possible importance, it was represented as the true meaning of the Christian Religion; which was stated to be but an allegorical representation of the doctrine of Illuminism, or the Religion and state of Nature. And, to reduce the Christian Religion, and all other religions, and all laws, to subordination to this doctrine, its origin was carried back to the beginning of the world. The Fall of Man was represented as meaning Man's departure from original Liberty and Equality, and entering into the Social and Civil state. The Redemption of Man was represented as meaning the destruction of Society and Government, and the bringing back of men to the patriarchal life. And the Gospel was made to mean Liberty and Equality, or Natural Religion.

While these abominable doctrines were taught in Germany and dispersed through the world, the Jacobins in France, well instructed in them, opened the Revolution, and put them in practice. Hence the destruction of property, the persecution of learned men, the burning of Libraries, the ruin of Lyons and other manufacturing towns, the depres-

sion of commerce, and the attempts to equalise estates, and dissolve marriages. And hence proceeded the vast flood of misery and mischief, which overwhelmed France, and will desolate any country cursed with such detestable opinions.

Yet these doctrines of darkness, desolation, and death, were propagated under the pretence of giving light, liberty, and happiness, to Man ; to make man free, equal, and happy ! All Government, whether Monarchy, Aristocracy, or Democracy ; all Magistracy, was to be abolished ; that an absolute and despotic tyranny might be exercised over the whole earth, by the sect of the Illuminati directed by Weishaupt. All government in France was to be destroyed, that Robespierre, directing the French Illuminati, the Jacobin society, might exercise a cruel and despotic tyranny over that unhappy country.

Such are the doctrines, measures, and men, which, in every age and country, rise out of insurrection, revolution, disorganization, and disorder ; springing from human pride and discontent, and ending in human misery and oppression.

From this view of the late Reformations, and Revolutions in Europe, the following deductions may be made.

1. In every state of society and government, it results from the corrupt and imperfect nature of man, that abuses must exist. This is inseparable from our condition, as a law imposed by providence, and no human care can prevent or remove it.

2. Such abuses will always furnish proud, discontented, and ambitious men, who have no means of correcting them, with opportunity of clamour and censure.

3. This clamour and censure will collect a party; some of honest men, who really wish to see abuses corrected, without knowing or considering justly how this is to be done; and some of worthless and wicked men, who have nothing to lose, by any change, and desire confusion.

4. There is always less energy in those who enjoy or indulge the powers of Government, or the benefits of society, than in those who would invade both: for there is never so much energy to retain as to acquire. Therefore, the invading party will always gain strength over the defending party.

5. Wherever, therefore, the Government is not supported by force to defend itself against all attacks, or by the sound opinion and fixed prejudice of the people in its favour; the party undertaking

to reform the abuses of the Government, if they employ secret societies and the press, to corrupt public opinion, will always succeed against the party exercising the powers of Government.

6. But when the Re-forming party has succeeded, so far as to destroy the influence of Government, they will feel restraint or force above them. The sensible and honest may be content with the reformation of real abuses; but artful, ignorant, violent, and wicked men will rise up; to take from the sensible and honest all influence, feign abuses which have no existence, pervert reformation into a destruction of all peace and happiness, and introduce disorder, misery, and oppression. And there is no opinion so absurd, and no extravagance so excessive, that a people, who have once shaken off the restraint of Government and the influence of opinion, may not be led to adopt and pursue.

After this view of the Re-formations and Revolutions in Europe, and the deductions from them, an important point remains, the practical application of these to ourselves. The use of History is to make us wise by the experience of others.

Those abuses, which existed or exist in Europe, and against which the attacks of the Reformers

were directed, exist not in this country. The rights of Conscience are in full exercise here. We have no established Church or Clergy, to riot on vast estates annexed to their functions, to control the conscience, or to extort the property of the people. Religion here is left, without any aid from Government, to be supported or neglected, as the opinions of individuals may suggest. Whether this be a favourable state for Religion, Government, or Society, I am not here to examine. But, as every man is, in this respect, free to do as he pleases; no man, who wishes not to see Religion entirely extinguished, has any room for complaint.

We have among us no Tyranny. We have no King, to become a Tyrant over us, by hereditary right, or even for life. Every officer, from the highest to the lowest, is chosen, either by ourselves; or by those whom we appoint for that purpose; and the authority of every officer is limited by law, and by good behaviour.

Among our citizens, a political Equality exists, to it's utmost practicable extent. We have no privileged orders; the rights of all are equal; all are equally subject to laws, taxes, and duties; and all are equally free to acquire and enjoy wealth and office.

Our Constitution secures us in the enjoyment of Liberty. Our laws, are made by Representatives chosen by ourselves. In choosing Representatives, it will hardly be pretended, that the whole people have not their full influence; and no man, I think, who desires, that the Government should be conducted with any regard to the interest and happiness of the country, will wish to see the right of voting more widely extended.

As our Government is thus Republican, its Administration has been conducted with as much wisdom and integrity, as the limits of human nature will permit us to hope; and there is no reasonable ground of belief, that any change of officers would improve the administration of the Government.

Our taxes are such as have been occasioned by our necessities and duties; they are imposed by our Representatives; they are not burdensome; and they are light, in comparison with those of other countries.

I do not see, in our Government, among the subjects of clamour and censure, any thing, which a sensible, honest, and reflecting man could hope to mend. And such men will, I hope, see, that the clamours and censures against our Government

are raised on false grounds, and by vain stars, and can lead to no good, but may, or must, lead to mischief.

If we find, therefore, in this country, clamours and censures against our Government, similar to those in Europe, but without any of their causes; and like combinations, arts, and means used, to carry them into active operation in the work of Reformation, Insurrection, Revolution, and Disorder, we have reason to apprehend, that they are directed not against similar abuses, (since they do not exist in our Government) but against the Government itself; that they spring from pride and discontent, and will end in confusion and misery; and that they lead to the destruction of ill authority human and divine, of all Government, of all Faith, of all established Opinion. It is no security against this, that those, who now excite and conduct such clamours and censures, do not intend, that such effects should ensue. If *they do not*; in the tumults which they excite, other men will arise who *do*; whose influence will soon overpower theirs, and lead to extravagancies not to be foreseen. This is a lesson taught us by all experience of scenes of this nature.

We have seen, that the attacks of the combination of Reformers in Europe were directed, 1,

against Religion, 2, against Government, and, 3, against Society ; and that those attacks were directed, at first, against the abuses of those institutions, and at last, against the institutions themselves. It has been stated, and, I think, cannot be denied, that those abuses exist not in this country ; and, if we see, in this country such combination, the attack here must be aimed, not at the abuses, which exist not, but at the very existence of Religion, Government, and Society. It is not to be expected, that such intention should be professed : if it exist, it will be denied ; for a confession of it would excite such resentment and opposition, as would defeat it. It will, therefore, be concealed under some plausible pretext, till it gain force enough to be avowed without danger, and to ensure success.

1. I cannot permit myself to doubt, that the support of Religion is a public duty, and that whatever lessens the competent maintenance of Public worship injures Religion. Tythes exist not here, but, if imposed at the creation of an estate, are, as Rent, part of its price, given to an useful purpose, and protected by all the rules of property ; and are not a tax ; but a debt on the proprietor. Estates given for the maintenance of Public worship are also protected by all the rules of Property. Withdrawing these is withdrawing support from Public worship, and injuring Religion.

Every attack on Revelation is an attack on the Christian Religion. But do we not see, current and popular, philosophical attempts to discredit the account given in the sacred scriptures of the creation and age of the world, the origin of mankind, the deluge, and other remarkable events recorded there. These are matters of Faith, and matters of Faith are unfit subjects of Philosophical discussion. Even objects of our senses baffle all efforts of Reason in accounting for the works of God. We see that things *are* so and so ; but *how* they are so, we cannot explain. Shall we wonder, then, that, in matters of Faith, Reason can enquire no farther, than into the evidence that they are revealed by God ! If there be no design to destroy all Faith in the Christian Religion, and Revelation in general; how came it, that Paint's Age of Reason, the most virulent, scurrilous, and blasphemous attack on Revelation and the Christian Religion, printed in France, and sent over, in vast numbers to the United States, was circulated with such industry and zeal throughout this country ? We had no established Priests or Priestcraft ; and the attack was leveled against the Gospel, the Bible, and all Revealed Religion. Is this no evidence of a combination to destroy Revelation, and bring us back to the Religion of Nature ! Is it no evidence of a combination with the Reformers in France, who destroyed the Christian Religion there !

Further, it is the end of the Christian Religion, and the duty of its Ministers, to enforce the practice of all duties arising out of every relation, as members of the state, of society, and of families. For the exercise of this duty, by Ministers of the Gospel, they are answerable to God, and ought not to be dependent on the temporary passions or resentment of their People. They ought to be guides, not slaves, to their flocks. How comes it, that there is such zeal to keep Ministers in a state of servile dependence on their people; to cast them off, not because they do wrong, but because they displease; to restrain them from instructing their people in a duty highly important, and much inculcated in Scripture, Civil duty; and, when they give such instruction, to withdraw their support, under the pretence of their becoming politicians? Is not this a restraint and tyranny over the consciences of their pastors? And does it not shew a design to destroy the influence of Religion over the duties of, at least one important relation, if not every relation of life; thus to cast off its restraints, and leave men free from all fear of GOD?

I will not enlarge on the incessant eulogies of that freedom of conscience, as they call it, which we enjoy, in being free to contribute to

the support of *any* Minister, or of *no* Minister ; of enjoying *any* Public worship, or *no* Public worship. Happily our opinions are not yet so far corrupted, nor our Religious impressions so erased, as to see the full extent of this boasted freedom of conscience. But, when we consider from whose mouths its praises come, we have reason to fear, that they praise this Religious Liberty, as preparing the way for a *Liberty from all Religion* ; when men will be left, without the influence of the fear of God, to fear only each other.

If there exists here a design to take off the influence of Religion from human conduct, nothing more is necessary : for we have no establishment to destroy.

2. If, as I think is manifest, there be no rational prospect of improving Liberty in our Government, by enlarging the power of the people ; to what, but a dissolution of our Government, do the constant clamours and censures of it tend ! And, as we hear them, nearly in the same words, in all quarters of the Union, from proud, ambitious, and discontented men ; is not this evidence of a combination to destroy the Government ! Let any man, who doubts this, examine the proceedings of the Assem-

bties of Virginia and Kentucky; and then, if he doubts, I have no further argument to offer. I will not assert, that all the promoters of those clamours, censures, and remonstrances, intend a destruction of the Government. These deceivers may be themselves deceived. But let it be remembered, that violence begun, seldom, if ever, stops where its authors intends that it should; and, whatever limits they may set to themselves; in this violence, others will aries in succession, and each go beyond the bounds prescribed by his predecessor. "The beginning of strife is as when one letteth out water." The promoters of these clamours may be "in sport;" but it is the sport of "a mad-man, who casteth firebrands, arrows, and death."

3. In our state of society, we have no man born to pre-eminence, or, from birth, entitled to privilege or distinction. All that a son can inherit from his father, is his property. Office and wealth are open to every one, who can acquire them by merit, reputation, industry, or ingenuity. That some will be stronger, wiser, richer, or more learned, than others, results from the dispensations of Providence, and the varieties of the human frame; and no human power can prevent it. Will any man own a wish?

change this order of Providence ! Why then do we see those daily endeavours, to render odious all men distinguished, above others, for their wealth, their wisdom, or their learning ; to put the worthless and the vile above the useful and intelligent ; to confound honour with ignominy, and merit with mischief, and make Society a chaos of discordant qualities, without order or station ; to hold up, as objects of hatred and envy, all who subsist without manual labour ; and to reprobate manufactures, and yet more commerce, as hostile to agriculture, and unfriendly to the poor ? Does this shew no unfavourable disposition to civilized Society, and to that order and gradation, which God has impressed on all nature ?

It may confirm the opinion, that these attacks on Religion, Government, and Society result from a combination, to observe, that the attacks on Religion and Society come, generally, from the same description of men, whence come the attacks on Government. And the same arguments, against all, are used here, as in Europe. Have we then no reason to fear, that a similar conspiracy exists here ; and that "those who have turned the world upside down, are come hither also ?"

As there seems to exist, in America, a spirit similar to that, which, in Europe, operated such fatal effects on Religion, Government, and Society; so it works by the same means, by secret societies, by the press, by occupying publications, and places of instruction. That there are secret Societies, in regular subordination, which direct the movement of vast bodies of people, no man, who looks at the result of elections will doubt. The organization of the society of United Irishmen somewhat resembles that of the Illuminati, and seems to be in operation here. That the Press is used, to promote the views of such societies, will not be doubted by any who see the unprincipled similarity of publications, at the same time, from New Hampshire to Georgia. It is evident, that every exertion is made, to fill public stations, and places of instruction, with men who will promote this spirit, and bring it into action. And there is also reason to apprehend, from certain organizations of armed array, and certain plans of instruction; that open force is not unmeditated, and that the corruption of the minds of the rising generation is in prospect. The effect of this spirit, so exerted in Europe, we have witnessed, What may be its

effect here, is for us seriously and seasonably to reflect. The same causes for it exist not here; and we have, therefore, reason to suspect, that the worst purposes are pursued. We have nothing to hope, but every thing to fear from this Spirit. My mind is deeply impressed with the danger of it: and I will repeat the warning, that *It springs from human pride, and ends in human misery.*

